

Communist International

“Third International” redirects here. For *Webster’s Third New International Dictionary*, see *Webster’s Dictionary*.

Warning: Page using *Template:Infobox political party* with unknown parameter “armed_wing” (this message is shown only in preview).

Warning: Page using *Template:Infobox political party* with deprecated or unknown parameter “armed_wing” (this message is shown only in preview).

The **Communist International**, abbreviated as **Com-**

action, and after the 1916 dissolution of the **Second International**.

The Comintern had seven World Congresses between 1919 and 1935. It also had thirteen “Enlarged Plenums” of its governing **Executive Committee**, which had much the same function as the somewhat larger and more grandiose Congresses. The Comintern was officially dissolved by **Joseph Stalin** in 1943.

1 Organizational history

1.1 Failure of the Second International

While the differences had been evident for decades, World War I proved the issue that finally divided the revolutionary and reformist wings of the workers’ movement. The socialist movement had been historically antimilitarist and internationalist, and therefore opposed workers serving as “cannon fodder” for the “bourgeois” governments at war. This especially since the **Triple Alliance** (1882) comprised two empires, while the **Triple Entente** gathered France and Britain into an alliance with Russia. Karl Marx’s *The Communist Manifesto* had stated that “the working class has no country” and exclaimed “Proletarians of all countries, unite!” Massive majorities voted in favor of resolutions for the Second International to call upon the international working class to resist war if it was declared.^[2]

Nevertheless, within hours of the declarations of war, almost all the socialist parties of the combatant states announced their support for the war.^[3] The only exceptions were the socialist parties of the **Balkans**. To Lenin’s surprise, even the **Social Democratic Party of Germany** (SPD) voted in favor of war credits. The assassination of **French socialist Jean Jaurès** on July 31, 1914 killed the last hope of peace by removing one of the few leaders who possessed enough influence on the international socialist movement to prevent it from segmenting itself along national lines and supporting **governments of National Unity**.

Socialist parties in neutral countries mostly supported neutrality rather than total opposition to the war. On the other hand, during the 1915 **Zimmerwald Conference**, Lenin organized opposition to the “imperialist war” into a movement that became known as the “Zimmerwald Left” and published the pamphlet *Socialism and War*, in which he called all socialists who collaborated with their na-



The Communist International published a theoretical magazine in a variety of European languages from 1919 to 1943.

intern and also known as the **Third International** (1919–1943), was an international communist organization that advocated **world communism**. The International intended to fight “by all available means, including armed force, for the overthrow of the international bourgeoisie and for the creation of an international Soviet republic as a transition stage to the complete abolition of the State.”^[1]

The Comintern was founded after the 1915 **Zimmerwald Conference** in which **Vladimir Lenin** had organized the “Zimmerwald Left” against those who refused to approve any statement explicitly endorsing socialist revolutionary

tional governments "**Social-Chauvinists**", that is, socialists in word but chauvinists in deed.^[4]

The International divided into a revolutionary left and a reformist right, with a center group wavering between those poles. Lenin condemned much of the center as social-pacifists for several reasons, including their voting for war credits despite opposing the war. Lenin's term "social-pacifist" aimed in particular at Ramsay MacDonald, leader of the **Independent Labour Party** in Britain, who opposed the war on grounds of pacifism, but did not actively resist it.

Discredited by its passivity towards world events, the Second International dissolved in the middle of the war in 1916. In 1917 Lenin published the *April Theses*, which openly supported a "revolutionary defeatism": the **Bolsheviks** pronounced themselves in favor of the defeat of Russia which would permit them to move directly to the stage of a revolutionary insurrection.^[5]

1.2 Impact of the Russian Revolution

The victory of the **Russian Communist Party** in the **Bolshevik Revolution** of November 1917 was felt throughout the world. An alternative path to power to parliamentary politics was demonstrated. With much of Europe on the verge of economic and political collapse in the aftermath of the carnage of the Great War, revolutionary sentiments were widespread. The Russian Bolsheviks, headed by Lenin, believed that unless socialist revolution swept Europe, they would be crushed by the military might of world capitalism, just as the **Paris Commune** had been crushed by force of arms in 1871. The Bolsheviks believed that this required a new international to ferment revolution in Europe and around the world.

1.3 Founding Congress

Main article: 1st Congress of the Comintern

The Comintern was founded at a Congress held in Moscow March 2–6, 1919,^[6] against the backdrop of the **Russian Civil War**. There were 52 delegates present from 34 parties.^[7] They decided to form an Executive Committee with representatives of the most important sections and that other parties joining the International would have their own representatives. The Congress decided that the Executive Committee would elect a five-member bureau to run the daily affairs of the International. However, such a bureau was not formed and Lenin, Trotsky and **Christian Rakovsky** later delegated the task of managing the International to **Grigory Zinoviev** as the Chairman of the Executive. Zinoviev was assisted by **Angelica Balabanoff**, acting as the secretary of the International, **Victor L. Kibaltchitch**^[8] and **Vladimir Ossipovich Mazin**.^[9] Lenin, Trotsky and Alexandra Kollon-

tai presented material. The main topic of discussion was the difference between "bourgeois democracy" and the "dictatorship of the proletariat".^[10]

The following parties and movements were invited to the Founding Congress:

- **Russian Communist Party (bolsheviks)**
- **Spartacus League (Germany)**
- **Communist Party of German Austria**
- **Hungarian Communist Workers' Party**, in power during Béla Kun's Hungarian Soviet Republic
- **Communist Party of Finland**
- **Polish Communist Workers' Party**
- **Communist Party of Estonia**
- **Communist Party of Latvia**
- **Lithuanian CP**
- **Communist Party (bolsheviks) of Byelorussia**
- **Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine** (Ukrainian section of Russian CP, same party basically)
- **The revolutionary elements of the Czech social democracy**
- **Social Democratic and Labour Party of Bulgaria** (*Tesnyatsi*)
- **Socialist Party of Romania**
- **Left-wing of the Serbian SDP**
- **Social Democratic Left Party of Sweden**
- **The Norwegian Labour Party**
- **For Denmark, the Klassekampen group**
- **Communist Party of the Netherlands**
- **Revolutionary elements of the Belgian Labour Party** (who would create the **Communist Party of Belgium** in 1921)
- **Groups and organisations within the French socialist and syndicalist movements**
- **Left wing within the Social Democratic Party of Switzerland**
- **Italian Socialist Party**
- **Revolutionary elements of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party**
- **Revolutionary elements of the Portuguese Socialist Party**

- British socialist parties (particularly the current represented by John Maclean)
- Socialist Labour Party (Great Britain)
- Industrial Workers of the World (Great Britain)
- Revolutionary elements of the workers' organisations of Ireland
- Revolutionary elements among the Shop stewards (Great Britain)
- Socialist Labor Party of the United States
- Left elements of the Socialist Party of America (the tendency represented by Eugene Debs and the Socialist Propaganda League of America)
- Industrial Workers of the World (United States)
- Industrial Workers of the World (Australia)
- Workers' International Industrial Union (United States)
- The Socialist groups of Tokyo and Yokohama (Japan, represented by Sen Katayama)
- Socialist Youth International (represented by Willi Münzenberg)^[11]

Of these, the following attended (List of delegates of the 1st Comintern congress): the Communist Parties of Russia, Germany, German Austria, Hungary, Poland, Finland, Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, Byelorussia, Estonia, Armenia, the Volga German region; the Swedish Social Democratic Left Party (the opposition), Balkan Revolutionary People's of Russia; Zimmerwald Left Wing of France; the Czech, Bulgarian, Yugoslav, British, French and Swiss Communist Groups; the Dutch Social-Democratic Group; Socialist Propaganda League and the Socialist Labor Party of America; Socialist Workers' Party of China; Korean Workers' Union, Turkestan, Turkish, Georgian, Azerbaijanian and Persian Sections of the Central Bureau of the Eastern People's, and the Zimmerwald Commission.^{[7][12]}

Grigory Zinoviev served as the first Chairman of the Comintern's Executive Committee from 1919 to 1926, but its dominant figure until his death in January 1924 was Lenin, whose strategy for revolution had been laid out in *What Is to Be Done?* (1902). The central policy of the Comintern under Lenin's leadership was that Communist parties should be established across the world to aid the international proletarian revolution. The parties also shared his principle of democratic centralism, "freedom of discussion, unity of action", that is, that parties would make decisions democratically, but uphold in a disciplined fashion whatever decision was made.^[13] In this period, the Comintern was promoted as the "General Staff of the World Revolution."^[14]

1.4 Second World Congress

Main article: 2nd World Congress of the Comintern
Ahead of the Second Congress of the Communist Inter-



Second Congress of the Communist International. 1920.



Boris Kustodiyev. Festival of the II Congress of Comintern on the Uritsky Square (former Palace square) in Petrograd

national, held in July through August 1920, Lenin sent out a number of documents, including his **Twenty-one Conditions** to all socialist parties. The Congress adopted the 21 conditions as prerequisites for any group wanting to become affiliated to the International. The 21 Conditions called for the demarcation between Communist parties and other socialist groups,^[15] and instructed the Comintern sections not to trust the legality of the bourgeois states. They also called for the build-up of party organisations along **democratic centralist** lines, in which the party press and parliamentary factions would be under the direct control of the party leadership.

Regarding the political situation in the colonized world, the second congress of the Communist International stipulated that a united front should be formed between the proletariat, peasantry and national bourgeoisie in the colonized countries. Amongst the twenty-one conditions drafted by Lenin ahead of the congress was the 11th thesis which stipulated that all communist parties must support the bourgeois-democratic liberation movements in the colonies. Notably some of the delegates opposed the idea of alliance with the bourgeoisie, and preferred giving support to communist movements in these countries instead. Their criticism was shared by the Indian

revolutionary **M.N. Roy**, who attended as a delegate of the **Communist Party of Mexico**. The congress removed the term 'bourgeois-democratic' in what became the 8th condition.^[16]

Many European socialist parties divided because of the adhesion issue. The **French Section of the Workers International (SFIO)** thus broke away with the 1920 **Tours Congress**, leading to the creation of the new **French Communist Party** (initially called "French Section of the Communist International" - **SFIC**); the **Communist Party of Spain** was created in 1920, the **Communist Party of Italy** was created in 1921, the **Belgian Communist Party** in September 1921, etc.

1.5 Third World Congress

Writings from the Third Congress, held in June–July 1921, talked about how the struggle could be transformed into "civil war" when the circumstances were favorable and "openly revolutionary uprisings".^[17] The Fourth Congress, November 1922, at which **Leon Trotsky** played a prominent role, continued in this vein.^[18]

The **Dungan** commander of the **Dungan Cavalry Regiment**, **Magaza Masanchi**, attended the Third Congress.^[19]

During this early period, known as the "First Period" in Comintern history, with the Bolshevik revolution under attack in the **Russian Civil War** and a wave of revolutions across Europe, the Comintern's priority was exporting the October Revolution. Some Communist Parties had secret military wings. On example is the **M-Apparat** of the **Communist Party of Germany**. Its purpose was to prepare for the civil war the Communists believed was impending in Germany, and to liquidate opponents and informers who might have infiltrated the party. There was also a paramilitary organization, the **Rotfrontkämpferbund**.^[20]

The Comintern was involved in the revolutions across Europe in this period, starting with the **Hungarian Soviet Republic** in 1919. Several hundred agitators and financial aid were sent from the Soviet Union and Lenin was in regular contact with its leader, **Béla Kun**. Soon an official "Terror Group of the Revolutionary Council of the Government" was formed, unofficially known as "**Lenin Boys**".^[21] The next attempt was the "**March Action**" in Germany in 1921, including an attempt to dynamite the express train from Halle to Leipzig. After this failed, the **Communist Party of Germany** expelled its former chairman, **Paul Levi**, from the party for publicly criticising the March Action in a pamphlet,^[22] which was ratified by the **ECCI** prior to the 3rd congress.^[23] A new attempt was made at the time of the **Ruhr Crisis** in spring and then again in selected parts of Germany in the autumn of 1923. The **Red Army** was mobilized, ready to come to the aid of the planned insurrection. Resolute action by the German government cancelled the plans, except due to miscom-

munication in Hamburg, where 200-300 Communists attacked police stations but were quickly defeated.^[24] In 1924 there was a failed coup in Estonia by the **Estonian Communist Party**.^[25]

In 1924, the **Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party** joined Comintern.^[26] At first, in China both the Chinese Communist Party and the **Kuomintang** were supported. After the definite break with **Chiang Kai-shek** in 1927, Stalin sent personal emissaries to help organize revolts which at this time failed.^[27]

1.6 Fifth to Seventh World Congresses: 1925–1935

1.6.1 The Second Period



The Comintern membership card of Karl Kilbom

Lenin died in 1924; the next year saw a shift in the organization's focus from the immediate activity of world revolution towards a defence of the Soviet state. In that year, **Joseph Stalin** took power in Moscow and upheld the thesis of "socialism in one country", detailed by **Nikolai Bukharin** in his brochure *Can We Build Socialism in One Country in the Absence of the Victory of the West-European Proletariat?* (April 1925). The position was finalized as the state policy after Stalin's January 1926 article *On the Issues of Leninism*. Stalin made the party line clear: "An internationalist is one who is ready to defend the USSR without reservation, without wavering, unconditionally; for the USSR it is the base of the world revolutionary movement, and this revolutionary movement cannot be defended and promoted without defending the USSR."^[28]

The dream of a world revolution was abandoned after the failures of the **Spartacist uprising** in Germany and of the **Hungarian Soviet Republic**, and the failure of all revolutionary movements in Europe, such as in Italy, where the fascist *squadrists* broke the strikes and quickly assumed power following the 1922 **March on Rome**. This period, up to 1928, was known as the "Second Period", mirroring the shift in the USSR from war communism to the **New Economic Policy**.^[29]

At the 5th World Congress of the Comintern in July

1924, Zinoviev condemned Marxist philosopher Georg Lukács's *History and Class Consciousness*, published in 1923 after his involvement in Béla Kun's Hungarian Soviet Republic, and Karl Korsch's *Marxism and Philosophy*. Zinoviev himself was dismissed in 1926 after falling out of favor with Stalin. Bukharin then led the Comintern for two years, until 1928 when he too fell out with Stalin. Bulgarian Communist leader Georgi Dimitrov headed the Comintern in 1934 and presided until its dissolution.

Geoff Eley summed up the change in attitude at this time as follows:

By the Fifth Comintern Congress in July 1924 ... the collapse of Communist support in Europe tightened the pressure for conformity. A new policy of "Bolshevization" was adopted, which dragooned the CPs toward stricter bureaucratic centralism. This flattened out the earlier diversity of radicalisms, welding them into a single approved model of Communist organization. Only then did the new parties retreat from broader Left arenas into their own belligerent world, even if many local cultures of broader cooperation persisted. Respect for Bolshevik achievements and defense of the Russian Revolution now transmuted into dependency on Moscow and belief in Soviet infallibility. Depressing cycles of "internal rectification" began, disgracing and expelling successive leaderships, so that by the later 1920s many founding Communists had gone. This process of coordination, in a hard-faceted drive for uniformity, was finalized at the next Congress of the Third International in 1928.^[30]

The Comintern was a relatively small organization but it devised novel ways of controlling Communist parties around the world. In many places there was a Communist subculture, founded upon indigenous left-wing traditions which had never been controlled by Moscow. The Comintern attempted to establish control over party leaderships by sending agents who bolstered certain factions, by judicious use of secret funding, by expelling independent-minded activists, and even by closing down entire national parties (such as the Polish Communist Party in 1938). Above all, the Comintern exploited Soviet prestige, in sharp contrast to the weaknesses of local parties that rarely had political power.^{[31][32]}

1.6.2 Communist front organizations

Main article: [Communist front](#)

Communist front organizations were set up to attract non-members who agreed with the Party on certain specific points. Opposition to fascism was a common theme

in the "Popular Front" era of the mid 1930s.^[33] The well-known names and prestige of artists, intellectuals and other "fellow travelers" were used to advance Party positions. Often they came to the USSR for propaganda tours praising the future.^[34] Under the leadership of Grigory Zinoviev the Comintern established fronts in many countries in the 1920s and after.^[35] To coordinate their activities, the Comintern set up international umbrella organizations linking groups across national borders, such as the Young Communist International (youth), Profintern (trade unions),^[36] Krestintern (peasants), International Red Aid (humanitarian aid), Sportintern (organized sports), etc. Front organizations were especially influential in France, which in 1933 became the base for Communist front organizer Willi Münzenberg.^[37] These organizations were dissolved the late 1930s or early 1940s.

1.6.3 The Third Period

In 1928, the 9th Plenum of the Executive Committee began the so-called "Third Period", which was to last until 1935.^[38] The Comintern proclaimed that the capitalist system was entering the period of final collapse and therefore all Communist parties were to adopt an aggressive, militant, ultra-left line. In particular, the Comintern labelled all moderate left-wing parties "social fascists", and urged the Communists to destroy the moderate left. With the rise of the Nazi movement in Germany after 1930, this stance became controversial.

The 6th World Congress also revised the policy of united front in the colonial world. In 1927 the Kuomintang had turned on the Chinese Communists, which led to a review of the policy on forming alliances with the national bourgeoisie in the colonial countries. The congress did however make a differentiation between the character of the Chinese Kuomintang on one hand and the Indian Swarajist Party and the Egyptian Wafd Party on the other, considering the latter as an unreliable ally but not a direct enemy. The congress called on the Indian Communists to utilize the contradictions between the national bourgeoisie and the British imperialists.^[39]

1.7 Seventh World Congress and the Popular Front

The seventh and last congress of the Comintern was held between July 25 and August 20, 1935. It was attended by representatives of 65 communist parties. The main report was delivered by Dimitrov, other reports were delivered by Palmiro Togliatti, Wilhelm Pieck and Dmitry Manuilsky.^[40] The congress officially endorsed the Popular Front against fascism. This policy argued that Communist Parties should seek to form a Popular Front with all parties that opposed fascism and not limit themselves to forming a United Front with those parties based



Nguyễn Thị Minh Khai's Delegates' Card at the 1935 COMINTERN's 7th Congress. She was a delegate representing the Indochinese Communist Party.

in the working class. There was no significant opposition to this policy within any of the national sections of the Comintern; in France and Spain in particular, it would have momentous consequences with **Léon Blum's** 1936 election, which led to the **Popular Front government**.

Stalin's **purges of the 1930s** affected Comintern activists living in both the USSR and overseas. At Stalin's direction, the Comintern was thoroughly infused with Soviet secret police and foreign intelligence operatives and informers working under Comintern guise. One of its leaders, **Mikhail Trilisser**, using the pseudonym 'Mikhail Aleksandrovich Moskvvin', was in fact chief of the foreign department of the Soviet **OGPU** (later, the **NKVD**). At Stalin's orders, 133 out of 492 Comintern staff members became victims of the **Great Purge**. Several hundred German Communists and antifascists who had either fled from Nazi Germany or were convinced to relocate in the Soviet Union were liquidated, and more than a thousand were handed over to Germany.^[41] **Fritz Platten** died in a labor camp; the leaders of the Indian (**Virendranath Chattopadhyaya** or **Chatto**), Korean, Mexican, Iranian and Turkish Communist parties were executed. Out of 11 Mongolian Communist Party leaders, only **Khorloogiin Choibalsan** survived. **Leopold Trepper** recalled these days: "In house, where the party activists of all the countries were living, no-one slept until 3 o'clock in the morning.... Exactly 3 o'clock the car lights began to be seen... we stayed near the window and waited [to find out], where the car stopped."^[42]

1.8 Dissolution

At the start of **World War II**, the Comintern supported a policy of **non-intervention**, arguing that the war was an imperialist war between various national ruling classes, much like **World War I** had been. But when the Soviet Union itself was invaded on 22 June 1941, the Comintern changed its position to one of active support for the **Allies**.

On May 15, 1943, a declaration of the **Executive Committee** was sent out to all sections of the International, calling for the dissolution of Comintern. The declaration read:

The historical role of the Communist International, organized in 1919 as a result of the political collapse of the overwhelming majority of the old pre-war workers' parties, consisted in that it preserved the teachings of Marxism from vulgarisation and distortion by opportunist elements of the labor movement... But long before the war it became increasingly clear that, to the extent that the internal as well as the international situation of individual countries became more complicated, the solution of the problems of the labor movement of each individual country through the medium of some international centre would meet with insuperable obstacles.

Concretely, the declaration asked the member sections to approve:

To dissolve the Communist International as a guiding centre of the international labor movement, releasing sections of the Communist International from the obligations ensuing from the constitution and decisions of the Congresses of the Communist International.

After endorsements of the declaration were received from the member sections, the International was dissolved.^[43] Messages between Tito and Dimitrov the Secretary-General in Moscow were intercepted and decrypted by the British **GC&CS (Bletchley Park)** from 1943, though the volume of messages was not great (the first message from "Walter" [Tito] was intercepted on 21 April, though not decrypted until many months later). They showed the level of control exercised over him (Tito) by Moscow and continued with Dimitrov after June 1943, when the Comintern itself was dissolved.^[44]

Usually, it is asserted that the dissolution came about as Stalin wished to calm his World War II allies (particularly **Franklin D. Roosevelt** and **Winston Churchill**) and keep them from suspecting the Soviet Union of pursuing a policy of trying to foment revolution in other countries.^[45]

1.9 Successor organizations

The Research Institutes 100 and 205 worked for the International and later were moved to the **International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union**, founded at roughly the same time that the Comintern was abolished in 1943, although its specific duties during the first several years of its existence are unknown.^{[46] [47][48]}

In September 1947, following the June 1947 Paris Conference on **Marshall Aid**, Stalin gathered a grouping of key European communist parties and set up the **Cominform**, or *Communist Information Bureau*, often seen as a substitute to the Comintern. It was a network made up of the Communist parties of **Bulgaria**, **Czechoslovakia**, **France**, **Hungary**, **Italy**, **Poland**, **Romania**, the Soviet Union, and **Yugoslavia** (led by **Josip Broz Tito**, it was expelled in June 1948). The Cominform was dissolved in 1956, following Stalin's 1953 death and the **XXth Congress of the CPSU**.

While the Communist parties of the world no longer had a formal international organization, they continued to maintain close relations with each other through a series of international forums. In the period directly after dissolution of Comintern, periodical meetings of Communist parties were held in Moscow. Moreover, *World Marxist Review*, a joint periodical of the Communist parties, played an important role in coordinating the communist movement up to the break-up of the **Socialist Bloc** in 1989-1991.

2 Comintern-sponsored international organizations

Several international organizations were sponsored by the Comintern in this period:

- **Communist Youth International** (1919–1943)
- **Red International of Labour Unions** (Profintern – formed 1920)
- **Communist Women's International** (formed 1920)
- **International Red Aid** (MOPR – formed 1922)
- **Red Peasant International** (Krestintern – formed 1923)
- **Red Sports International** (Sportintern)
- **International of the Proletarian Freethinkers** (1925–1933)
- **League against Imperialism** (formed 1927)
- **Workers International Relief**

3 International Liaison Department (“OMS”)

The **OMS** (Russian: Отдел международной связи, *ot-del mezhdunarodnoy svyazi* or OMC), also known in English as the **International Liaison Department** (1921–1939),^{[49][50]} was “the most secret department” of the

Comintern. It has also been translated as the **Illegal Liaison Section**^{[51][52]} and **Foreign Liaison Department**.^[53]

One historian has described:

The OMS was the Comintern's department for the coordination of subversive and conspiratorial activities. Some of its functions overlapped with those of the main Soviet intelligence agencies, the OGPU and the GRU, whose agents sometimes were assigned to the Comintern. But the OMS maintained its own set of operations and had its own representative on the central committees of each Communist party abroad.^[52]

In 2012, historian David McKnight stated:

The most intense practical application of the conspiratorial work of the Comintern was carried out by its international liaison service, the OMS. This body undertook clandestine courier activities and work which supported underground political activities. These included the transport of money and letters, the manufacture of passports and other false documents and technical support to underground parties, such as managing “safe houses” and establishing businesses overseas as cover activities.^[49]

4 World congresses and plenums of Comintern

4.1 Congresses

4.2 Plenums of ECCI

4.3 Related meetings

5 See also

- **Executive Committee of the Communist International**
- **Communist University of the Toilers of the East**
- **Communist University of the National Minorities of the West**
- *Communist International* (magazine)
- **Moscow Sun Yat-sen University**
- **Anti-Comintern Pact**
- **International Entente Against the Third International**

- Spanish Civil War
- International Working Union of Socialist Parties (“2 and a half International” founded by Austro-Marxists)
- International Revolutionary Marxist Centre
- Communist Workers International
- International Communist Opposition
- International Lenin School

Lists:

- List of delegates of the 1st Comintern congress
- List of delegates of the 2nd Comintern congress
- List of left-wing internationals
- List of Communist Parties
- List of members of the Comintern

Internationals:

- First International
- Second International
- Fourth International
- Fifth International

6 Footnotes

- [1] Comintern, Comintern
- [2] David North and Joe Kishore (2008). *The Historical & International Foundations of the Socialist Equality Party*. Mehring Books. p. 13.
- [3] Spencer C. Tucker (2005). *The Encyclopedia of World War I: A Political, Social, and Military History*. ABC-CLIO. pp. 883–85.
- [4] R. Craig Nation, *War on war: Lenin, the Zimmerwald Left, and the origins of Communist Internationalism* (Duke University Press, 1989)
- [5] Service, *Lenin: A Biography* p 262
- [6] Berg, Nils J. *I kamp för Socialismen - Kortfattad framställning av det svenska kommunistiska partiets historia 1917-1981*. It opened with a tribute to Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, recently murdered by the Freikorps during the Spartakus Uprising. Stockholm: Arbetarkultur, 1982. p. 19.
- [7] Marxist Internet Archive
- [8] Kibaltchitch would later take the name 'Victor Serge'. A former anarchist, he was not even a member of the RCP(b) at the time. He believed he was included because of his knowledge of European languages. See: Serge, Victor. *Memoirs of a Revolutionary*
- [9] First Congress of the Communist International
- [10] Marxist Internet Archive
- [11] First Congress of the Communist International
- [12] Delegates with deciding votes were: Hugo Eberlein (Communist Party of Germany), Vladimir Lenin (Russian Communist Party), Leon Trotsky (RCP(b)), Zinoviev (RCP(b)), Joseph Stalin (RCP(b)), Bukharin (RCP(b)), Georgy Chicherin (RCP(b)), Karl Steinhardt (Communist Party of German Austria) K. Petin (CPGA), Endre Rudnyánszky (Communist Party of Hungary), Otto Grimlund (Social Democratic Left Party of Sweden), Emil Stang (Norwegian Labour Party), Fritz Platten (the opposition within the Swiss Social Democratic Party), Boris Reinstein (Socialist Labor Party of America), Christian Rakovsky (Balkan Revolutionary Social Democratic Federation), Jozef Unszlicht (Communist Party of Poland), Yrjö Sirola (Communist Party of Finland), Kullervo Manner (CPF), O. V. Kuusinen (CPF), Jukka Rahja (CPF), Eino Rahja (CPF), Mykola Skrypnyk (Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine), Serafima Gopner (CPU), Karl Gailis (Communist Party of Latvia), Kazimir Gedris (Communist Party of Lithuania and Belorussia), Hans Pöggelman (Communist Party of Estonia), Gurgun Haikuni (Communist Party of Armenia), Gustav Klinger (Communist Party of the German Colonists in Russia), Gaziz Yalymov (United Group of the Eastern Peoples of Russia), Hussein Bekentayev (UGEPR), Mahomet Altimirov (UGEPR), Burhan Mansurov (UGEPR), Kasim Kasimov (UGEPR) and Henri Guilbeaux (Zimmerwald Left of France). Delegates with consultative votes were: N. Osinsky (RCP(b)), V. V. Vorovsky (RCP(b)), Jaroslav Handlír (Czech Communist Group), Stojan Dyorov (Bulgarian Communist Group), Ilija Milkić (Yugoslav Communist Group), Joseph Fineberg (British Communist Group), Jacques Sadoul (French Communist Group), S. J. Rutgers (Dutch Social Democratic Party/Socialist Propaganda League of America), Leonie Kascher (Swiss Communist Group), Liu Shaozhou (Chinese Socialist Workers Party), Zhang Yongkui (CSWP), Kain (Korean Workers League), Angelica Balabanoff (Zimmerwald Committee) and the following delegates representing the sections the Central Bureau of Eastern Peoples: Gaziz Yalymov (Turkestan), Mustafa Suphi (Turkey), Tengiz Zhgenti (Georgian), Mir Jafar Baghirov (Azerbaijan) and Mirza Davud Huseynov (Persia). Source:
- [13] Lenin, V. (1906), *Report on the Unity Congress of the R.S.D.L.P.*
- [14] William Henry Chamberlin *Soviet Russia: A Living Record and a History* 1929, chapter 11; Max Shachtman “For the Fourth International!” *New International*, Vol.1 No.1, July 1934; Walter Kendall “Lenin and the Myth of World Revolution”, *Revolutionary History*)

- [15] For example, the thirteenth condition stated that “The communist parties of those countries in which the communists can carry out their work legally must from time to time undertake purges (re-registration) of the membership of their party organisations in order to cleanse the party systematically of the petty-bourgeois elements within it. The term “purge” has taken on very negative connotations, because of the **Great Purge** of the 1930s. In the early 1920s, however, the term was more ambiguous. See J. Arch Getty *Origins of the Great Purges: The Soviet Communist Party Reconsidered, 1933-1938* p.41 for discussion of the ambiguities in the term, including its use in the 1920 Comintern resolution.
- [16] M.V.S. Koteswara Rao. *Communist Parties and United Front - Experience in Kerala and West Bengal*. Hyderabad: Prajasakti Book House, 2003. p. 48, 84-85
- [17] **The Black Book of Communism** pp. 275-6; Minutes of the Seventh Session
- [18] **Marxist Internet Archive**
- [19] Joseph L. Wiczynski (1994). *The Modern encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet history, Volume 21*. Academic International Press. p. 125. ISBN 0-87569-064-5. Retrieved 2011-01-01.
- [20] **The Black Book of Communism** pp. 282; **Marxist Internet Archive**
- [21] **The Black Book of Communism** pp. 272-5
- [22] Broue, P. (2006) *The German Revolution: 1917-1923*, Chicago: Haymarket Books, pg.516
- [23] Broue, P. (2006) *The German Revolution: 1917-1923*, Chicago: Haymarket Books, pg.531
- [24] **The Black Book of Communism** pp. 277-8
- [25] **The Black Book of Communism** pp. 278-9
- [26] Archived September 13, 2006, at the **Wayback Machine**.
- [27] **The Black Book of Communism** pp. 280-82
- [28] David Priestland, *Of the Read Flag: A History of Communism* (2009) p 124
- [29] Duncan Hallas *The Comintern*, chapter 5
- [30] Geoff Eley, *Forging Democracy: The History of the Left in Europe, 1850-2000* (Oxford University Press 2002) p. 228.
- [31] David Priestland, *The Read Flag: A History of Communism* (2009) p 124-25
- [32] Robert Service, *Comrades!: a history of world communism* (2007) pp 164-73
- [33] Archie Brown, *The Rise and Fall of Communism* (2011) pp 88-89
- [34] Michael David-Fox, “The Fellow Travelers Revisited: The ‘Cultured West’ through Soviet Eyes,” *Journal of Modern History* (2003) 75#2 pp. 300-335 in JSTOR
- [35] Robert Service, *Comrades!: a history of world communism* (2007) pp 173-74
- [36] Ian Birchall, “Profintern: Die Rote Gewerkschaftsinternationale 1920-1937,” *Historical Materialism*, 2009, Vol. 17 Issue 4, pp 164-176, review (in English) of a German language study by Reiner Tosstorff.
- [37] Julian Jackson, *The Popular Front in France* (1990) p. x
- [38] Duncan Hallas *The Comintern*, chapter 6; Nicholas N. Kozlov, Eric D. Weitz “Reflections on the Origins of the ‘Third Period’: Bukharin, the Comintern, and the Political Economy of Weimar Germany” *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (Jul., 1989), pp. 387-410 JSTOR
- [39] M.V.S. Koteswara Rao. *Communist Parties and United Front - Experience in Kerala and West Bengal*. Hyderabad: Prajasakti Book House, 2003. p. 47-48
- [40] Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CPCz CC, Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CPS CC. *An Outline of the History of the CPCz*. Prague: Orbis Press Agency, 1980. p. 160
- [41] **The Black Book of Communism** p. 298-301.
- [42] Radzinski, *Stalin*, 1997
- [43] **Dissolution of the Communist International**
- [44] *Mihailović or Tito? How the Codebreakers Helped Churchill Choose* by John Cripps; Chapter 13 (pages 237-263) of *Action This Day* edited by Michael Smith & Ralph Erskine (2001, Bantam London) ISBN 0-593-04910-1 p. 242, 253, 257
- [45] Robert Service, *Stalin. A biography*. (Macmillan - London, 2004), pp 444-445
- [46] Mark Kramer, The Role of the CPSU International Department in Soviet Foreign Relations and National Security Policy, *Soviet Studies*, Vol. 42, No. 3 (Jul., 1990), pp. 429-446
- [47] RE: Twilight of the Comintern by John Earl Haynes, H-Net
- [48] Stalin and the Cold War in Europe: The Emergence and Development of East-West Conflict, 1939-1953
- [49] McKnight, David (2012). *Espionage and the Roots of the Cold War: The Conspiratorial Heritage*. Routledge. pp. vii (Rudnik), 52 (Trilisser), 60 (OMS), 61-62 (dissolution), 119-120 (Ducroux, Rudnik).
- [50] Lazitch, Branko; Milorad M. Drachkovitch (1986). *Biographical Dictionary of the Comintern*. Hoover Press. pp. xxix (description), 120 (Flieg), 319 (Mirov-Abramov), 479 (Trilisser).
- [51] Krivitsky, Walter (2013) [1939]. *In Stalin's Secret Service: An Expose of Russia's Secret Polices by the Former Chief of the Soviet Intelligence in Western Europe*. Harper & Brothers (Enigma Books). p. 125.
- [52] Sakmyster, Thomas (2011). *Red Conspirator: J. Peters and the American Communist Underground*. University of Illinois Press. pp. 37 (translation), 38 (organization), 40 (Browder), 62 (Russian counterpart), 63 (process).

- [53] West, Nigel (2015). *Historical Dictionary of International Intelligence*. Rowman & Littlefield. p. 77.
- [54] Marxist History: "The Communist International (1919-1943)", accessed March 22, 2010

7 Further reading

- Carr, E.H. *Twilight of the Comintern, 1930-1935*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1982.
- Chase, William J. *Enemies within the Gates? The Comintern and the Stalinist Repression, 1934-1939*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001.
- Gankin, Olga Hess and Harold Henry Fisher. *The Bolsheviks and the World War: The Origin of the Third International*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1940.
- Haithcox, John Patrick. *Communism and nationalism in India: MN Roy and Comintern policy, 1920-1939* (1971)
- Hallas, Duncan. *The Comintern: The History of the Third International*. London: Bookmarks, 1985.
- Hopkirk, Peter. *Setting the East Ablaze: Lenin's Dream of a Empire in Asia* 1984 (1984)
- James, C.L.R., *World Revolution 1917-1936: The Rise and Fall of the Communist International*. Humanities Press, 1993.
- Lazitch, Branko and Milorad M. Drachkovitch. *Biographical dictionary of the Comintern* (2nd ed. 1986)
- McDermott, Kevin. "The History of the Comintern in Light of New Documents," in Tim Rees and Andrew Thorpe (eds.), *International Communism and the Communist International, 1919-43*. Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, 1998.
- McDermott, Kevin. "Rethinking the Comintern: Soviet Historiography, 1987-1991," *Labour History Review*, vol. 57, no. 3 (Winter 1992), pp 37–58.
- McDermott, Kevin, and J. Agnew. *The Comintern: a History of International Communism from Lenin to Stalin*. Basingstoke, 1996.
- Melograni, Piero. *Lenin and the Myth of World Revolution: Ideology and Reasons of State 1917-1920*, Humanities Press, 1990.
- Priestland, David. *The Red Flag: A History of Communism*. 2010.
- Smith, S. A. (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Communism* (2014) ch 10 on Comintern

- Ulam, Adam B. *Expansion and Coexistence: Soviet Foreign Policy, 1917-1973*. Second Edition. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974.
- Worley, Matthew et al. (eds.) *Bolshevism, Stalinism and the Comintern: Perspectives on Stalinization, 1917-53*. (2008)
- *The Comintern and its Critics* (Special issue of *Revolutionary History* Volume 8, no 1, Summer 2001)

7.1 Primary sources

- Davidson, Apollon, et al. (eds.) *South Africa and the Communist International: A Documentary History*. In Two Volumes. 2003.
- Firsov, Fridrikh I., Harvey Klehr, and John Earl Haynes, eds. *Secret Cables of the Comintern, 1933-1943*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014.
- Riddell, John (ed.): *The Communist International in Lenin's Time, Vol. 1: Lenin's Struggle for a Revolutionary International: Documents: 1907-1916: The Preparatory Years*. New York: Monad Press, 1984.
- Riddell, John (ed.): *The Communist International in Lenin's Time, Vol. 2: The German Revolution and the Debate on Soviet Power: Documents: 1918-1919: Preparing the Founding Congress*. New York: Pathfinder Press, 1986.
- Riddell, John (ed.) *The Communist International in Lenin's Time, Vol. 3: Founding the Communist International: Proceedings and Documents of the First Congress: March 1919*. New York: Pathfinder Press, 1987.
- Riddell, John (ed.) *The Communist International in Lenin's Time: Workers of the World and Oppressed Peoples Unite! Proceedings and Documents of the Second Congress, 1920*. In Two Volumes.

New York: Pathfinder Press, 1991.

- Riddell, John (ed.) *The Communist International in Lenin's Time: To See the Dawn: Baku, 1920: First Congress of the Peoples of the East*. New York: Pathfinder Press, 1993.
- Riddell, John (ed.) *Toward the United Front: Proceedings of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, 1922*. Lieden, NL: Brill, 2012.

8 External links

- Lenin's speech: The Third, Communist International (🔊 recording)

- [Site Comintern Archives \(English\)](#)
- [Site Comintern Archives \(Russian\)](#)
- [Comintern History Archive Marxists Internet Archive](#)
- *The Communist International* Journal of the Comintern, Marxists Internet Archive
- *Outline History of the Communist International*
- *The Internationale* by R. Palme Dutt, 1964
- Report from Moscow, 3rd International congress, 1920 by Otto Rühle
- Article on the Third International from the Encyclopædia Britannica

9 Text and image sources, contributors, and licenses

9.1 Text

- Communist International Source:** https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Communist_International?oldid=736594938 **Contributors:** The Cunctator, Jeronimo, XJaM, William Avery, Michael Hardy, Kwertii, Llywrch, 172, ArnoLagrange, Arwel Parry, Александър, Bogdangiusca, Netsnipe, Andres, Caffelice~enwiki, WouterVH, The Tom, Fuzheado, WhisperToMe, Zoicon5, Maximus Rex, Jose Ramos, Thue, Shizhao, Tjdw, Joy, Warofdreams, AnonMoos, Pir, Secretlondon, Adam Carr, Carbuncle, Robbot, Romanm, Sam Spade, TMLutas, Mendalus~enwiki, Witbrock, MaGioZal, Nikodemos, Rafaelgr, Ferkelparade, TDC, Beta m, Mboverload, Bobblewik, Utcursch, Pgan002, Formeruser-81, JKnight, Huntington, Mzajac, Jock Haston, Soman, Ukexpat, N328KF, Rich Farmbrough, Rydel, Florian Blaschke, Bender235, ESKog, Kbh3rd, VMORO, CanisRufus, Adambro, Cmdrjameson, .:Ajvol.:, Themindset, Obradovic Goran, Djzanni, Fjl, Paul-Hanson, Wrinkles, Cjthellama, Water Bottle, Mattley, Mysdaao, VladimirKorablin, Rwendland, Bart133, Pauli133, SteinbDJ, Kazvorpall, Dryman, Ultramarine, Weisbrod, Woohookitty, Jobrahms~enwiki, Lapsed Pacifist, RxS, Rjwilmsi, Nobs, Bruce lee, Valip, FlaBot, Ground Zero, Payo, Gurch, Nimur, Str1977, Krun, Chobot, Sharkface217, M.C. Brown Shoes, Metropolitan90, Gwernol, UkPaolo, YurikBot, Ismail, RobotE, A.S. Brown, Hairy Dude, RussBot, Nobs01, FDR, CambridgeBayWeather, DonaldDuck, NawlinWiki, Wiki alf, Leutha, Lowe4091, Rjensen, Howcheng, Bayle Shanks, Irishguy, VinceBowdren, Formeruser-82, Natkeeran, Bronks, Zzuuzz, Lt-wiki-bot, Abune, Sebfalk, Vino s, Trickstar, Huldra, Anonimu, Sardanaphalus, SmackBot, ChXu, Mazz0, DuncanBCS, Unyoyega, Vald, Jebarr, Hmains, Amatulic, Ashton Coochter, Chris the speller, Unint, Dahn, Ordrestjean, Jprg1966, Hibernian, Xx236, Constanz, Mladifilozof, WOOK-IEwantMEDAL, Writtenright, Chlewbob, Cybercobra, Aboudaqn, RolandR, Zdravko mk, Latebird, Nmpenguin, Andrew Dalby, Catch, Eliyak, BrownHairedGirl, Vanished user 9i39j3, Lapaz, CenozoicEra, Korovioff, Thunk00, Santa Sangre, MTSbot~enwiki, Jamesheadspeath2006, Iridescent, WGee, UncleDouggee, Octane, Recomposer, Pudeo, Ale jrb, Bobfrombrockley, Vision Thing, CBM, Ronaldldonald, Kylvu, WeggeBot, Rakwiki, Slp1, Languagehat, Bellerophon5685, R-41, Tec15, DumbBOT, Thenewestdoctorwho, BetacommandBot, Thijs!bot, Epbr123, Biruitorul, Bobblehead, A3RO, RickinBaltimore, Escarbot, Basilo, Redmind, Ste4k, Vanjagenije, NSH001, Ingolfson, Sluzzelin, Kaobear, DuncanHill, Joshua, Magioladitis, Bongwarrior, Puddhe, Bill j, Indon, Nat, Glen, Thompson.matthew, Seba5618, R'n'B, CommonsDelinker, Aleksandr Grigoryev, Vacharon, Bothnia, NelsonLB, SJP, Inbloom2, STBotD, TheNewPhobia, Avitohol, Anezkasebek, Hugo999, VolkovBot, Macedonian, Simonft, Lear's Fool, Philip Trueman, C.J. Griffin, Broadbot, Amog, Mohonu, Rk-nasc, SieBot, Tresiden, WereSpielChequers, Wukappa, Zalktis, Oxymoron83, CmdrMariategui, Votemoose, Lightmouse, Sanya3, OKBot, StaticGull, Spilbrick, Lindum, Ahuizotl, Henry Merrivale, Gr8opinionater, ClueBot, GorillaWarfare, Rodhullandemu, Mx3, IvanStario, Gutm, Demolish Rance, Excirial, Autospark, Beheader6, Bite Me Rance22, Rancewringer, Rancetrator, Waterboard Rance2, Waterboard Rance7, Waterboard Rance12, Indopug, Flush rance, Vanished User 1004, DumZiBoT, TheLamprey, Héctor Guido Calvo, Rror, MystBot, G0rn, NonNobisSolum, Radh, Zolstijers, Addbot, Smash therance2, Landon1980, Bitemerance51, Fieldday-sunday, Jail traitors29, Rancie sooks, CanadianLinuxUser, Skyezx, Snuffout rance3, Bedwetting rance, Clownman, Detox runcie, Traitors2jail, Traitorsinjail, Ranceindumpster, Favonian, Newfraferz87, Smite rants, Lightbot, The Deceiver, Ranceinnoose, Demolish rancie, Legobot, Luckas-bot, Yobot, Lynch derance2, Kulak revenge, Behead rance9, Rance despoiled, Swallowsperm roland, Roland rancidity, AnomieBOT, Arilang1234, Chewshit rancie, Fipps revenge3, MaterialsScientist, DiscreteFourierSeries, Rolandrance shythead, LiHlpa, Nut1917, Xqbot, Tonys prison butch, TimeIntegration, HaskinMoment, Rancebehindbars, Robotcom33, Devin007, Omnipaedia, Carrite, Sayerslle, Jayhoolihan, Haldraper, Griffinofwales, FrescoBot, BubbleBabis, D'ohBot, Trust Is All You Need, Redrose64, Charles Richardson, Fat&Happy, Bmclaughlin9, Jandalhandler, FoxBot, TobeBot, Yunshui, Zanhe, Haaninjo, NFSreloaded, Dasha14, Tbotch, Bobby122, EmausBot, Moswento, Savh, Tulandro, Surya Prakash.S.A., Cit helper, Labnoor, 2 chippytt, Redd so so dead, Theliberalthumanist, ClueBot NG, Frietjes, V Debs, Helpful Pixie Bot, Nescio vos, Lowercase sigmabot, Truck truth1, Compfreak7, Fumblajd, Дмитрий Третьяков, Dagnytaggartmoxie, Insidae, Nathanhalestorm, Quigley, Sugar mcgee, BattyBot, Cyberbot II, Abezgauz, Charles Essie, Leos icepick, CsDix, Stdevin2012, My name is not dave, YTatjana, Ubi303, Jellysandwich0, Magicloveisintheair, Zozs, Karmanatory, KasparBot, Enseantay, Werder223, KarlChinaski and Anonymous: 145

9.2 Images

- File:Commons-logo.svg Source:** <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/4/4a/Commons-logo.svg> **License:** CC-BY-SA-3.0 **Contributors:** ? **Original artist:** ?
- File:Communist-International-1920.jpg Source:** <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/0/0c/Communist-International-1920.jpg> **License:** Public domain **Contributors:** Original uploaded on en.wikipedia **Original artist:** Original uploaded by Carrite (Transferred by Bagratun)
- File:KilbomKominternKard.jpg Source:** <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/7/74/KilbomKominternKard.jpg> **License:** Public domain **Contributors:** ? **Original artist:** ?
- File:Kustodiev_-_Congress_of_Comintern.JPG Source:** https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/4/45/Kustodiev_-_Congress_of_Comintern.JPG **License:** Public domain **Contributors:** <http://www.abcgallery.com/K/kustodiyev/kustodiyev1.html> **Original artist:** Boris Kustodiev
- File:Loudspeaker.svg Source:** <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/8/8a/Loudspeaker.svg> **License:** Public domain **Contributors:** New version of Image:Loudspeaker.png, by AzaToth and compressed by Hautala **Original artist:** Nethac DIU, waves corrected by Zoid
- File:Marx_Engels_Lenin.svg Source:** https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/6d/Marx_Engels_Lenin.svg **License:** CC BY-SA 3.0 **Contributors:** Own work **Original artist:** Jgaray
- File:Nguyễn_Thị_Minh_Khai'{}s_Delegate'{}s_Card_at_Comintern'{}s_1935_VII_Congress,_Moscow.jpg Source:** https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/f/f8/Nguy%E1%BB%85n_Th%E1%BB%8B_Minh_Khai%27s_Delegate%27s_Card_at_Comintern%27s_1935_VII_Congress%2C_Moscow.jpg **License:** ? **Contributors:** **Original publication:** VII Congress of the Third Communist International **Immediate source:** <http://m.doko.vn/tai-lieu/ho-chi-minh-nhung-nam-thang-chua-duoc-biet-den-1739091> **Original artist:** COMINTERN (Life time: 1/1/1910 - 28/8/1941)

- **File:SegundoCongresoDelCominternLeninKárajánBujarinZinoviev19200719.jpg** *Source:* <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/c/c2/SegundoCongresoDelCominternLeninK%C3%A1rajánBujarinZinoviev19200719.jpg> *License:* Public domain *Contributors:* Scanned from ISBN 9780805052947, page 74 *Original artist:* Viktor Bulla
- **File:Wikisource-logo.svg** *Source:* <https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/4/4c/Wikisource-logo.svg> *License:* CC BY-SA 3.0 *Contributors:* Rei-artur *Original artist:* Nicholas Moreau

9.3 Content license

- Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 3.0